782 untary alms. Zakat, the tithe for the church, is not given
[793] by the Kanuri. Consequently the clergy are dependent entirely
[792] on sadaka. Koranic specialists who devote themselves entirely to study of the Koran, and to the teaching of the Koran are called Malams. The Malams are supported by sadaka which devout Kanuri are expected to give.

788 The fifth and last Pillar of Islam is the pilgrimage.
177 All who can manage the pilgrimage to Mecca (haj) without hardship are expected at some time to make this trip. The Mais and Shehus undertook the pilgrimage, and in fact, el Kanemi spent some years in Mecca. Large numbers of the Kanuri populace have also made the pilgrimage. Its effect has been to tie Kanuri society to the larger world of Islam, in that way to share in a larger community and to bring back to Bornu new ideas and new products. Pilgrims who travel across the width of Africa by truck from Lake Chad to the Red Sea, find that they have a common bond with other Moslems in the towns through which they pass.

78 The nature of religious observance among the Kanuri can be
182 seen in their adherence to the Pillars of Islam. But Islam
[576] enters into Kanuri life at numerous additional points: in the
[275] common greetings between two individuals when they meet; in the
[262] abstention from any form of alcoholic beverage which tends to
[777] be widely observed; in food taboos; in Koranic charms which most
[757] individuals wear; and in the use of ink from verses of the Koran
796 as cures for illness. Most life crises are marked by religious

632 river. The compounds of several wealthy Hausa traders face the
[563] market-place in the western end of Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward. The
[463] butchers, who are almost all Hausa and have a Hausa head-man, are within Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward but fall under the jurisdiction of the Hausa Lowan.

632 563 The third ward making up the town of Geidam has only a sprinkling of Kanuri living there. It is the most populous ward of the three and is predominantly Hausa. Its Lowan is Serɔkin Garba, a prominent member of the Hausa community. This ward has been growing most rapidly in recent years, and the direction of expansion has been south and west, where whole new sections have grown up. Along the western border of the town, stretching southward, live all the Ibos and Yorubas, Southern Nigerians and predominantly Christian, numbering several hundred.
[366] A string of small canteens run by Ibos and Yorubas faces the
[368] western border. In this ward is to be found the church for
[273] Christian members of the Geidam community, and the Charity Hotel where beer is sold.

632 563 Ethnic stratification is very marked in Geidam. All southerners, Ibos and Yorubas, live in the Hausa ward along with almost the entire Hausa population of Geidam. Only a scattering
632 563 167 of Hausas are found in the Kanuri wards. Within the Kanuri wards are found small clusters of other tribes, notably Bouzous and Dogora, serfs of the Tuareg who come down into the settled plains area to towns like Geidam, where they work at menial jobs for periods of time. When they have accumulated some money they re-

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632 563 167 turn to their northern villages. A group of Bouzou work at camel transport, and live in a cluster near the slaughter-slab area. Another group of Bouzou work as water-carriers and come [162] to live in Geidam between agricultural seasons. They all, up to thirty in number, live in the compound of Lowan Ashek.

632 621 Lastly a group of pagans are to be found in a small hamlet called Koldi, about 400 yards northwest of the town proper. [162] There are forty-five households in Koldi, with a total popula- [622] tion of 134. Koldi has its own Bulama, but Lowan Ashek serves [651] as the Lowan of Koldi and is responsible for tax collection 632 there. The people of Koldi are largely pagan (kordi), and mem- 621 563 177 bers of the following tribes are found there: Banana, Kim, Kabam, Ngizim, Kabalia, Mandara, Kotoko, Gwoza and Fulani. Most of these are tribes found east and south of the Shari River, whose people are pagan or partially Islamized. This is the shatter-belt area between the Empires of Bornu and those of [302] Mandara and Bagirmi. The women of Koldi all do their hair in the Kanuri manner, and the people of Koldi are strongly acculturated to the Kanuri. In fact many Kanuri are found living in [771] Koldi. They are characterized primarily by their lax attitude [275] towards Islam, and are considered pagan because they brew millet beer there. No beer is brewed in Geidam proper, so that Kanuri youths wishing to partake of the local brew are forced to slip [534] away unseen to Koldi. Drumming can constantly be heard in the 632 evenings from the direction of Koldi. The people of Koldi all 621 [243] have farms of millet in the surrounding area, but in addition [385] [463]

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177 825 829 492 493 constantly. Frequently the respective merits of each were mentioned. A Talaka states, "A horse doesn't go fast, while a bicycle goes fast. The horse has more prestige (dareja)." Another Talaka says, "In town you can go far, deliver messages and return very rapidly with a bicycle. But for strolling through the town a horse is better. You wear a large gown (kulugu) and big pants--it's pleasant (kali)."

177 825 829 492 493 554 The prestige of the horse is reflected in several of the answers to the question: do you know how to ride a bicycle? Two individuals specifically indicated that although they knew how to ride, they did not ride a bicycle as it was not dignified (see Table XIX). Turning to the question of which one would [634] [643] rather have, a horse or a bicycle, two groups (Kabuna and Craftsmen) reveal themselves as particularly conservative and overwhelmingly choose the horse. It has already been noted that the horse is of particular importance to the Kabuna. Their [565] reasons for selecting the horse are apparent. On the other hand, the Aristocracy are also closely tied to ceremonial activities involving the horse, yet they are the only group in which more choose the bicycle (3) than the horse (2). It would appear that the Aristocracy are in no doubt about the prestige due them, and lean more strongly towards some of the other factors which favor the bicycle.

177 276 273 [784] Several other measures concerning the adoption of Western items were attempted. Among them were smoking cigarettes and drinking beer. Drinking alcoholic beverages, including Euro-

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*177 276 • 273 [784] European-style beer, is forbidden to strict Moslems. Smoking cigarettes is not forbidden by religious edict, but is generally avoided except by adolescents and young men. In place of cigarettes, and serving much the same function, all Kanuri chew kola nuts. It can be seen from Table XXII that only eight individuals smoke cigarettes; two others smoked in the past but have given it up. Only three individuals admit to drinking beer, while three others did drink in the past. Those who smoke or drink can be found dispersed throughout six of the groups, with no significant clustering of cases appearing in any one group. In two groups, however, no individuals are to be found [792] who either smoke or drink. These are the Koranic Malams and [441] the Canteen Operators. The reasons for the strictness of the Koranic Malams is obvious. The Canteen Operators are somewhat different in their motivation. They would appear to adhere closely to traditional norms in these areas.

*177 291 *829 The last items involving Western material goods concern the wearing of European-made shoes and European-style trousers, presented in Table XXIII. Most of the individuals in the sample have worn European-made shoes at one time or another, and a number of others state that although they do not have them they would wear them if they had shoes. Only seven individuals categorically state that they would not wear European- [792] made shoes, and these appear in four groups: Koranic Malams, * [634] Kabuna, Craftsmen, and Talaka. The general attitude against * [463] wearing European-style trousers, however, is much stronger. * [565]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 276]

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Table XXII

9, 10. Smoking cigarettes; drinking beer.

	9. Do you smoke cigarettes? yes	used to	no	10. Do you drink beer? yes	used to	no
Aristocracy	2	-	3	1	-	4
Koranic Malams	-	-	3	-	-	3
Canteen Operators	-	-	6	-	-	6
NA Malams	1	1	4	-	1	5
Kabuna	-	-	6	1	-	5
Craftsmen	-	1	5	-	1	5
Talaka	3	-	5	1	1	6
Low-status Individuals	2	-	2	-	-	4
Totals:	8	2	34	3	3	38

342

Unlike some of the larger district capitals, Magumeri has almost no mud houses. Conical, thatched roofed dwellings inside compounds having grass mat walls are the rule. Only the District Head's and the Alkali's (Muslim judge) compounds contain any mud walled dwellings, and only the District Head's compound has mud walls. In the larger villages and District capitals, mud walls are more common as are mud houses. This gives Magumeri village a more rural appearance than many other capitals, since it is in the small villages and hamlets that this type of house predominates.

621
[273]

In Magumeri the pagan quarter in which millet beer is made is right in the village. More usually pagan quarters are at the extreme edge of a village or at some remove altogether from the main settlement.

184

This then is Magumeri. Its representativeness of Kanuri society in general is probably as good as any other village in Bornu.

[114]

After having visited ten other district capitals, stayed in another for nearly a month, and the capital of the Emirate for three months, the writer is keenly aware of local differences but just as aware of the similarities in social life among all people who consider themselves Kanuri. These differences are especially pertinent in relation to the rural/urban dichotomy and between the upper and lower classes of the society. The writer is only too aware that any attempt at all-inclusive generalizations becomes perilous in the face of these ever present differentials in Kanuri life as a whole.

563 829 grown up as a Muslim, will only speak of his background reluctantly or confidentially. Pagan groups in Kanuri towns, who are usually Banana or Owoza peoples from the Cameroons, manifest many of the characteristics typically associated with minority groups everywhere. They often speak of the equality of all men in the eyes of God, and proclaim privately that they are just as good and deserving of dignity and respect as the Kanuri majority. Stories of unfair treatment and all kinds of unjust discrimination are easily elicited. The Kanuri, on the other hand, openly despise them, referring to them as a general class of lower status people - kurdi (infidels) who were used as slaves in the old days. Despite these status differentials, the pagans in the Kanuri towns live in a [464] symbiotic relationship with the majority group. They supply the Kanuri • [273] with a cheap cash labour supply and brew the liquor that many Kanuri [461] like to drink but would consider abhorrent to manufacture. The pagans obtain, therefore, a large ready market for their products (i.e. their brew, and their unskilled manual labour), because of the low regard in which these two activities are held by the Kanuri.

Pagans who are known to have Muslim sectors, such as the Babur tribe of southern Bornu or the Yoruba of western Nigeria are still regarded as low status but are not nearly so unanimously despised as the local brewers of beer with whom the Kanuri have daily contacts. It is probable that the existence of urban classes and a nobility among the Babur and the Yoruba which is originally absent among the Owoza and the Banana, aids in differentiating their status as ethnic groups for the Kanuri.

The Ibo people of south-east Nigeria are considered to come under the rubric of the despised pagan group, although it is known that

517 tening to court cases, horse racing, radio, phonographs, newspapers, political meetings, and cinema shows (in Maiduguri). Some of these items, both traditional and acquired as a result of culture contact, require expenditures. Thus praise-singing which validates status, or
511 [554] even creates it momentarily where it does not exist, may become almost a social narcotic when used by some highly motivated person who wishes to obtain higher status but cannot, and thus buys it in one or two minute lumps of time from the singers. Again sexual affairs (male speaking) for sheer pleasure can be a costly entertainment, especially if the [833] [524] man seeks variety. Other traditional items, such as gambling (now [517] done with European playing cards), learning to read the Koran, trips to other localities, visiting markets with no practical purpose, may [177] all lead easily to some expenditures. With growing culture contact and westernization we may expect that items such as radios, newspapers, and movies will begin entering family budgets, as they have already done for the urban population.

276 The major traditional stimulants in Bornu are kola-nuts, • (273) millet beer and tobacco flowers for women. Kola-nuts are chewed almost universally by both sexes, and form part of leisure time intercourse. It is customary to have nuts at weddings, naming ceremonies
276 and other ritual occasions, which are given out to guests. Generally
511 speaking, expenditures reported by men for kola-nuts were low in comparison to food and clothing. However, in several cases - the District Head, the head butcher, a kola-nut retailer, a city trader, an N.A. messenger, an ex-cattle trader now a farmer, and a hides and skins trader, the calculated annual expense approached or equalled clothing expendi- [302] tures. Women colour their teeth with gworongo (Salonaceae Incanum) and chew tobacco flowers and kola-nuts, but generally obtain the income for

276 302 511 this expenditure from both their own productive activities as well as the husband's allowance. Pagan millet beer, distilled millet liquor, 273 [511] and European beer and spirits are widely consumed. Except for the District Head, who averaged £3.0.0 to £5.0.0 per month for liquor, little is known of this expenditure. It appears that it is a more widespread practice in larger centres and among the younger generation of Kanuri. Indeed it is rare to see an elderly person taking liquor in the 276 272 pagan quarter of Magumeri. Other minor stimulants are cigarettes, chewing tobacco, tamarind juice, soft drinks and candies.

751 789 A different variety of stimulant, which involves almost everyone in some expenditure, is a supernatural or medicinal one, in which the individual expects to be protected against malevolence and [432] misfortune, and to achieve sexual, political and economic success. This type of stimulant comes traditionally from the native doctor or the specialized charm seller, each of whom sells items which stimulate greater success, or stave off failure along some dimension of aspiration. 789 In the culture contact situation, this has created a good market for 177 "patent medicines" which are beginning to appear in large quantities in the urban centre. Thus at Maiduguri, a European drug store sports such items as "Pregno" for pregnant women, "Braino" for students, "Backo" for anyone with back-aches, "Power" for anyone wishing to increase his personal fortunes, and so on. The recognized superiority of Western technology is generalized to its medicinal stimulants and these meet a sharp demand.

302 Cosmetics in Bornu are used by both sexes although more time, money and effort is spent in self-beautification by women. Both men and women use perfume, although only at the upper class level is it a daily practice. Perfume is always passed around at major ceremonies to both

366 ulation growth in itself may be said to lead to markets, and markets and
494
161 transportation facilities, when present, "feed back" to stimulate further growth.

443 Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the
494 one pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus
484 if Bukar or Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Yerwa (Maiduguri) he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday or Monday market, which can take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant town in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him, or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain "proper" transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the state. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the temporal movement of rural life. This, of course, adds zest, interest
443 and excitement to market day. Beyond the temporal categorization of
[273] events, markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics,
[273] marriages, births, circumcisions and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale
[525] on the local market day, and gamblers hold (illicit) card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods but a festive occasion which is regarded as a break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life.

443 Each local market has its head man (mala kasube) to whom
692 disputes are referred. If he is unable to settle the disagreement, then
[632] the disputants are taken to either the Lawan (Village Head) of the market town, or the judge, if the town boasts a court. In Maiduguri, there